unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit [114]
myself simply to noting some observations which I was able 565
to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the
Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may /48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but he is still 'iamir'ed, '" that is to say, "he lacks something," [196] and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id, plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race 173
than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro 174
race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the 565
Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot 565
bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word 631

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250.

A clan is generally termed *tassit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg.

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g.,

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(rarat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups.

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:–

Mother's brother's daughter	7
Father's sister's daughter	4
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Other kinswomen	13
No blood-relationship between husband and wife	8
Marriages total	38